BELLVM ERASMI

translated into en glysshe.

LONDINI IN AEDIBVS
THO. BERTHELETI.
AN. M. D. XXXIII.
CVM PRIVILEGIO.

Ames p. 168. H. 423.

BRITISH MUSEUM

IT IS BOTHE an elegante prouerbe, and amonge al other, by the writynges of many excellent auctours, ful often and solempnely vsed, Dulce bellū inexpertis, that is to say, Warre is swete to them that know it nat. There be some thinges amonge mortal mens businesses, in the whiche how great danger and hurte there is, a man can not perceyue tylle he make a prose. The loue and frendshyppe of a great man is swete to them that be not experte: he that hath had therof experience, is aferde. It semeth to be a gay and a glorious thynge, to iette vp and downe amonge the nobles of the courte, and to be occupied in the kynges busynes: but old men, to whom that thing by long experiēce is wel knowen, do gladly absteyne them selfe from suche felicitie. It semeth a pleasant thyng to be in loue with a ponge dammoysell: but that is vnto theym, that haue not yet perceyued howe moche grefe and bytternes is in suche loue. So after this maner of facion, this prouerbe may be applied to enerye busynes, that is adioyned with great perylle and with many enyls: the whiche no man wyl take on hande, but he that is ponge and wanteth ex-

perience of thynges.

Aristotle in his boke of Rhetorike, sheweth the cause, why youthe is more bolder, and contrary wyse olde age more fearefull: for Vnto yonge men lacke of experience is cause of great boldnes, and to the other, experiẽce of many greses ingendreth feare and doubtynge. Then if there be any thynge in the worlde, that shulde be taken in hande with feare and doubtynge, ye that oughte by all maner meanes to be fledde, to be withstãde with prayer, and to be cleane auoyded, Verily it is warre: than whiche nothynge is eyther more wycked, or more wretched, or that more farther of distroyeth, or that nere hand cleueth sorer to, or dothe more hurte, or is more horrible, and breefely to speke, nothyng dothe worse become a man (I wol not say a christen mã) then warre. And yet it is a wonder to speake of, howe nowe a dayes in euery place, howe lyghtly, and howe for euery trifelynge mattier, it is taken on hande, howe outragiously and barbarously it is gested and doone, not onely of hethen people, but also of christen men, not onely of seculer men, but also of prystes and bysshops: not only of yonge men, and of them that haue none experience, but also of old men, and of those

that

that so often haue hadde experience, not only of the commons and moenable vulgare people, but mooste specially of the princis, whose duetie had bene, by wysedome and reson to sette in a good order, and to pacifie the light and hasty mouinges of the folisshe multitude. Nor there lacke neyther lawyers, nor yet diuines, the which put to theyr fyre bzandes, to kendel these thinges so abompnable, and they encozage them that els were colde, & they priuely prouoke those to it, that were wery therof. And by these meanes it is come to that passe, that warre is a thynge nowe so well accepted, that men wonder at hym, that is not pleased therwith. It is so moche appzoued, that it is counted a wycked thynge (and I had almoste sayde herisie) to repzoue this one thynge, the whiche as it is aboue al other thynges mooste mischiefful, so it is most wzetched. But howe moze iustly shulde this be wondred at, what euyl spirite, what pestilence, what mischiefe, and what madnes put firste in mannes mynde a thynge so beyonde measure beastly, that this mooste pleasant, and reasonable creature man, the whiche nature hath bzought fozth to pece and benenolence, whiche one alone she hath bzought fozthe to the helpe and succour of al other: shuld with

ſo wylde woodnes, with ſo madde rages, ronne headlonge one to diſtroye an other? At the whiche thynge he ſhall alſo moche moze mernayle, who ſo euer wold withdzaw his mynde from the opinions of the common people, and wold turne it to beholde the very pure ſtrengthe and nature of thynges: and wold aparte beholde wel with philoſophical eies the image of man on the tone ſyde, and the picture of warre on the tother ſyde.

Then firſt of al if one wold cõſider wel but the behauour & ſhap of mãs body ſhal he not forthewith perceyue, that Nature, oz rather god, hath ſhaped this creature, not to warre, but to frendſhyppe, not to diſtruction, but to helthe, not to wzonge, but to kyndenes and beneuolence? ffoz where as nature hath armed al other beſtis with theiz owne armure, as the violence of the bullis ſhe hath armed with hoznes, the ramping lion with clawes, to the boze ſhe hath gine the gnaſhig tuſkes, ſhe hath armid the elephãt with a long trũpe ſnoute, beſyde his great huge body and hardnes of the ſkynne: ſhe hath fenſed the Cocodzil with a ſkynne as harde as a plate: to the Delphin fyſhe ſhe hath gyuen fynnes in ſtede of a dart: The Pozcopin ſhe defendeth with thoznes: the ray and thoznebacke with

ſharpe

sharpe prickels: to the cocke she hath giuen stronge spurres. Som she fenseth with a shel, some with a harde hyde, as it were thycke lether, or barke of a tree. Some she prouideth to saue by swyftnes of flyght, as doues. And to some she hathe gyuen venome in stede of a weapon. To some she hath gynen a mocke horrible and owgly loke, she hath giuen terrible eies and grountynge voyce.
And she hath also set amonge some of theym continual discention and debate. Man alone she hath brought forth all naked, weke, tender, and without any armure, with most softest flesshe and smothe skynne. There is nothynge at all in all his membres that maye seme to be ordeyned to warre, or to any violence, I wolle not seye at this tyme, that where all other beastis, anone as they are brought forthe, they are able of theym selfe to gette their foode: Man alone cometh so forthe, that a longe season after he is borne, he dependeth all together on the helpe of other. He can neyther speake nor goo, nor yet take meate, he desyreth helpe alonely by his infant crieng: so that a man may at the leest way, by this coniect, that this creature alone was borne all to loue and amitie, whiche specially increaseth and is faste knytte together

by good turnes done eftesones of one to an other. And for this cause Nature wold, that a man shuld not so moche thanke her, for the gyfte of lyfe, whiche she hathe gyuen vnto hym, as he shulde thanke kyndnes and beneuolence, wherby he myght euidently vnderstande hym selfe, that he was all to gether dedicate and bounden to the goddis of gracis: that is to say to kyndnes, beneuolence, and amitie. And beside this nature hath gyuen vnto man, a countinance not terrible and lothly, as vnto other brute bestis: but meke and demure, representynge the very tokens of loue and beneuolence. She hathe gyuen hym amiable eies, and in them assured markes of the inward mynd. She hath ordeined him armes to clyp & enbrace. She hath gyuen hym the wytte and vnderstandynge to kysse: wherby the very myndes and hartes of men shulde be coupled to gether, euen as thoughe they touched eche other. Vnto man alone she hath gyuen laughyng, a token of good chere and gladnes. To man alone she hath gyuen weppynge teares, as it were a wedde or token of mekenes and mercy. Ye and she hathe gyuen hym a voyce not thretnyng and horrible, as vnto other brute bestes, but amiable and pleasant. Nature not yet content with al

this,

this, she hath gyuen vnto man alone the commoditie of speche and raysonynge: the whiche thynges verily may specially bothe gette and norysshe beneuolence, so that nothynge at all shulde be done amonge men by violence. She hath indewed man with hatred of solitarynes, and with loue of company. She hath vtterly sowen in man the very sedes of Beneuolence. She hathe so doone, that the selfe same thynge, that is moste holsome, shulde be mooste swete and delectable. For what is more delectable than a frende? And ageyne, what thynge is more necessarie? Moreouer, if a man myght leade all his lyfe moste profytably without any medlynge with other men, yet nothyng wold seme plesant without a felowe: except a man wolde caste of al humanitie, and forsakyng his owne kynd wold become a beaste.

Besyde al this, Nature hath indewed man with knowlege of liberal sciences, and a fernent desire of knowledge: whiche thynge as it doth moste specially withdrawe mans wyt from all beastly wyldnes: so hath it a speciall grace to get and knyt together loue and frendshyp. For I dare boldely sey, that nother affinitie nor yet kynrede, doth bynde the myndes of men together with strayter and

ſurer bandis of amitie, than dothe the felow-
ſhyppe of them that be lerned in good letters
& honeſte ſtudies. And abone al this, nature
hath diuided among men by a merueylous va-
rietie the gyftes, as wel of the ſoule as of the
body, to thintent truly that euery man might
fynde in euery ſynguler perſone one thyng or
other, whiche they ſhuld other loue or preiſe
for the excellency therof: or els greatly de-
ſyre and make mocke of it, for the nede and
profyte that cometh therof. Finally ſhe hath
indowed man with a ſparke of a godly mind:
ſo that though he ſee no reward, yet of his
owne courage he delyteth to do euerye man
good: For vnto god it is mooſte propre and
naturalle, by his benefyte to do euery bodye
good. Els what meaneth it, that we reioyce
and conceyue in our myndes no lyttell plea-
ſure, when we perceyue that any creature is
by our meanes preſerued.

More ouer god hathe ordeyned man in this
worlde, as it were the verye image of hym
ſelfe, to the intēt, that he, as it were a god in
erth, ſhuld prouide for the welthe of al crea
tures. And this thig the very brute beſtis, do
alſo perceiue, for we may ſe, that nat only the
tame beſtis, but alſo the liberdis, lions, and
other more fierce and wylde, when they be

in

in any great ieoperdie, they flee to man for succour. So man is, whan all thyngis faile, the laste refuge to all maner creatures. He is vnto them all the verye assured aulter and sepnctuarie.

I haue here peynted oute to you the ymage of man as welle as I canne: On the other syde (if it lyke you) ageynste the figure of man, let vs purtraire the facion and shap of warre.

Nowe then imagin in thy mynde, that thou doste beholde two hoostis of barbarous people, of whome the loke is fierce and cruelle, and the voyce horrible, the terrible and fere-full rustelynge and glysterynge of theyr harnes and weapons, the vnlouely mourmour of so howge a multitude, the eies sternely menassyng, the blody blastis & terrible sounddes of trumpettis & clarions, the thondrynge of the gonnes, no lesse fearefull than thonder in dede, but moche more hurtefulle, the woode crie & clamour, the furious and mad runnynge to gether, the outragious slaughter, the cruel chances of theym that slee, and of those that are stryken downe and slayne, the heapes of slaughters, the feldes ouer-flowen with bloudde, the ryuers dyed redde with mans bloudde. And it chauncethe

often

often tymes amonge, that the brother fyghteth with the brother, one kynsman with an other, frende agaynst frende: and in that cõmon furious woodnes ofte tymes one thrusteth his weapon quyte throughe the body of an other, that neuer gaue hym so mocke as a foule worde. Verily this tragidie conteineth so many mischeues, that it wold abhorre any mans harte to speake therof. I wyl lette passe to speake of the hurtes, whiche are in comparison of the other but light and commune, as the tredynge downe and distroying of the corne al about, the burnynge of townes, the villages fired, the dryuynge awaye of cattell, the raupsshynge of maydens, the olde men ledde forthe in captinitie, the robbynge of churches, and al thynges confounded and full of theftes, pillages, & violence. Nother I woll not speake nowe of those thinges, whiche are wonte to folowe the mooste happye and moste iuste warre of all.

The poore commons pilled, the nobles ouer charged, so many olde men of their chyldren bereued, ye and slayne also in the slaughter of theyr chylderne, so many olde women destitute, whome sorowe more cruelly sleeth then the weapon it selfe, so many honest wynes become wydowes, so many chyldren fa-

ther-

therles, so many lamentable howses, so many ryche men brought to extreme pouertie. And what nedeth it here to speake of the distruction of good maners, sithe there is no man, but he knoweth ryght wel, that the vniuersal pestilence of al mischeuous kyuynge procedeth at ones of warre. Therof cometh despysynge of vertue and godly kyuynge: herof cometh, that the lawes are neglected, and not regarded, hereof cometh a prompte and a redy stomake, boldly to do euery mischeuous dede. Out of this fountayne springeth so bonge great companyes of theues, robbers, sacrilegers, and mourderers. And that is mooste greuouse of all, this mischieuous pestilence can not kepe hir selfe within hir bounder: but after it is begon in som one corner, it doeth not onely (as a contagious disease) spreade abrode and enfecte the countreyes nere adioynynge to hit, but also it draweth into that commune rumble and troublous busynesse the countreyes that be verye farre of, eyther for nede, or by reason of affinitie, or elles by occasion of some leage made. Ye and more oner, one warre springeth of an other: of a dissembled warre there comith warre in dede, & of a very smal, a right great warre hath risen. For it chanceth

cethe often tymes none other wyse in these thynges, thenne hit is feyned of the monstre, whiche laye in the lake or ponddell called Lerna.

For these causes I trowe, the olde poetis, the whiche most sagely perceyued the power and nature of thynges, & with most mete feynynges, couertly shadowid the same: haue left in wrytynge, that warre was sent out of hel: and that by the labour of the furies of hell: nor euery one of the furies was not mete and conuenient to bryng about this busynes, but the moste pestilent and mischieuouste of them all, was chosen oute for the nones, whiche hathe a thousande names, and a thousande craftis to do hurte. She beinge armed with a thousand serpentis, blowith before her fendly trumpette. Pan with furious ruffelynge accombreth euerye place. Bellona, shaketh hir furious flayle. And then the wycked furionsnes hym selfe, when he hathe vndone all knottis and broken all bondes, russheth oute with blouddye mouthe horrible to beholde.

The grammarians perceyued right welle these thynges, of the whiche, some wyl, that warre haue his name by contrary meanyng of the worde Bellum, that is to seye fayre,

byrause it hathe nothynge good nor feyre. For bellum, that is for to sey warre, is none other wyse called Bellum, that is to seye fayre: than the furies are called Eumenides, that is to seye meke: by cause they are woode and contrarye to all mekenes. And somme gramaryans thynke rather, that Bellum warre, shoulde be deryued out of this worde Belua, that is for to say, a brute beaste: for soo mochе as hit belongeth to brute beastis, and not vnto menne to runne to gether, eche to distroye other. But it semeth to me to passe farre all wylde and all brute beastlynes, to fyght to gether with weapons.

Fyrste for there are manye of the brute beastis, eche in his kynde, that agree and lyue in a gentylle facion to gether, and they go to gether in birdes and flockes, and eche helpeth to defende other. For it is not the nature of all wylde beastes to fyghte. For some are harmeles, as doois and haaris. But they that are the moste fierse of all, as lyons, wolfes, and tygers: doo not make warre amonge theym selfe as we doo. One dogge eatethe not an nother. The lyons, thoughe they be fierce and cruelle, yet they fyghte not amonge theym selfe.

One

One dragon is in peace with an other. And there is agrement amonge poysons. But vnto man there is no wylde or cruel beast more hurtfull, than man.

Ageyne, when the brute beastis fyght, they fyght with theyr owne naturall armour: we men, aboue nature, to the distruction of men, arme our self with armour, inuented by craft of the dyuell. For the wylde beastis are not cruell for euery cause: but eyther when hunger maketh them fierce, or els when they perceyue them selfe to be hunted and pursued to the dethe, or elles when they fere leste their yonglynges shuld take any harme or be stolen from them. But (oh good lord) for what tryflynge causes what tragidies of warre do we styre vp? For moste vayne titles, for chyldysshe wrathe, for a wenche, ye and for causes mochе more scornefull then these, we be inflamed to fyght.

More ouer, when the brute beastis fyghte, theyr warre is one for one, ye and that is verye shorte. And when the battayle is soorest foughten, yet is there not paste one or two, that goeth away sore wounded. When was it euer harde, that an hundred thousande brute beastis were slayn at one tyme fyghtyng and tearynge one an other: whiche thynge men

do

do fall ofte & in many places? And beſyde this, where as ſome wylde beaſtes haue naturall debate with ſome other, that be of a contrary kynde: So agayne there be ſome, with whiche they louyngly agree in a ſure amitie. But man with man, and eche with other, haue amonge them continuall warre: nor there is no leage ſure inough amõge anymen. So that what ſo euer it be, that hath gone out of kynde, it hath gone out of kynde into a worſe facion: then though nature herſelfe had ingẽdred therin a malyce at the begynnynge.

Wyll ye ſe howe beaſtly, howe fowle, and howe vnworthy a thynge warre is for man? Dyd ye neuer beholde a lyon let looſe vnto a beare? What gaypynges, what roarynges, what griſely gneſshynge, what tearynge of theyr fleſshe is there? He trembleth, that beholdeth theym, yea though he ſtande ſure and ſafe inough from them. But howe moche more griſely a ſighte is it, howe moche more outragious and cruel, to beholde man, to fyght with man, arrayed with ſo moche armour, and with ſo many weapons? I beſeche you, who wolde beleue, that they were men, & it were not bycauſe warre is a thyng ſo moche in cuſtome, that no man meruayleth

at it? Theyr eies glowe lyke fyre, theyr faces be paale, theyr marchynge forth is lyke men in a furie, theyr voyce skrytschynge and gruntynge, theyr crye and clamour woode, all is iron, theyr harnes and weapons gynglen and clutteren, & the gounnes thondren. If myght haue ben better suffred, if man for lacke of meate and drynke, shuld haue fought with man, to the intent he myght denour his flesshe and drynke his bloudde: All be it, it is come also nowe to that passe, that somme there be, that do it more of hatrede, then either for hunger or for thyrste. But now this same thynge is done more cruelly, with weapons enuenomed, and with diuilysshe ingins. So that no where may be perceyued any token of man. Trowe ye that nature coude here knowe the same thynge, that she sometyme had wrought with her owne handes? And if any man wolde enfourme her, that it were man, that she beheelde in suche array: myght she not well, with great wonderynge, saye these wordes?

What newe maner pageant is this that I beholde? what dyuell of hell hath brought vs forth this monstre? There be some that calle me a stepmother, bycause that amonge so great heapes of thynges of my makynge

I

I haue brought forth some venemous thynges: and yet haue I ordeyned the selfe same venemous thynges, for mans behofe. And bycause I haue made somme beastes verye fiers and peryllous: and yet is there no beest so wilde nor so peryllous, but that by crafte and diligence he may be made tame and gentyll. By mannes diligente labour the lyons bene made tame, the dragons meke, and the beares obedient. But what is this, that wors is thanne any steppemother, whiche hathe broughte vs forthe, this newe vnreasonable brute beaste, the pestilence and mischiefe of all this worlde? One beaste alone I brought forthe holly dedicate to be beneuolente, pleasante, frendely, and helthe of all other? What hath chaunced, that this creature is chaunged into suche a brute beaste? I perceyue nothynge of the creature man, whiche I my selfe made. What euyll spirite hath thus defyled my warke? What wytche hath bewitched the mynd of man, and transformed it into so beastysshe? What sorceresse hath thus tourned hym oute of his kyndely shappe? I commaunde and wolde the wretched creature shulde beholde hym selfe in a glasse. But alas what shal the eies se, where the mynde is awey? Yet beholde thy selfe

(if thou canst) thou furious warriour, and se if thou mayste by any meanes recouer thy selfe agayne. From whense haste thou that thretnynge creste vppon thy heed? From whens haste thou that shynynge helmette? from whens are those iron hornes? whens cometh it, that thyne elbowes are so sharpe and piked? Where haddest thou those scales? where haddest thou those brasen teethe? Of whence are those harde platis? whence are those deedly weapons? Fro whens cometh to the this voyce more horrible then of a wylde beaste? what a loke and countinance hast thou more terrible, thā of a brute beast? Where haste thou gotten this thonder and lyghtynge, both more fearefull and hurtefulle then is the very thonder and lyghtenynge it selfe? I fourmed the a goodly creature, what came in thy mynde, that thou woldeste thus transfourme thy selfe in to so cruel and so beastly facion, that there is no brute beaste so vnreasonable in comparyson vnto man?

These wordes, and many other suche lyke I suppose, the dame nature, the worker of all thynges, wolde say. Then sith man is suche, as is shewed before that he is: & that warre is suche a thynge, lyke as so ofte we haue

felte

felte and knowen, it semeth to me no smalle wonder, what pl spirite, what disese, or what myshappe, first put into mans mynde, that he wolde bathe his mortalle weapon in the blondde of man. It muste nedes be, that me mounted vp to so greatte madnes by dyuers degrees. For there was neuer man yet (as Iuuenall sayth) that was sodenly moste vngratious of all. And alwaye thynges moste worste, haue crept in amonge mens maners of lyuynge, vnder the shadowe and shappe of goodnes. For somtyme those men that were in the begynnynge of the worlde, ledde theyr lyues in wodes, they went naked, they had no walled townes, nor howses to put theyr heedes in: it happed other whyle that they were sore greued and distroyed with wylde beastis. Wherfore with them fyrste of all, me made warre, & he was estemed a mighty stronge man, and a capitayne, that conde best defende mankynd from the violence of wilde beastis. Yea and it semed to theym a thynge mooste egall, to strangle the stranglers, and to slee the sleers, namely whanne the wylde beaste, not prouoked by vs for any hurte to them done, wolde wylfully sette vppon vs. And so by reason that this was counted a thynge mooste worthy of preyse (for hereof

it rose that Hercules was made a god, the lusty stomacked yonge men, beganne all a-bonte to hunte and chace the wylde beastes, and as a token of theyr valyant victorie, the skynnes of suche beastis as they slewe, were sette vp in suche places, as the people might beholde theym. Besydes this they were not contented to slee the wylde beastes, but they vsed to weare theyr skynnes to kepe theym from the colde in wynter. These were the fyrst slaughters that men vsed: These were theyr spoyles and robberies. After this, they went so forforth, that they were bolde to do a thynge, whiche Pythagoras thoughte to be very wycked: and it myghte seeme to vs also a thynge monsterous, if custome were not, whiche hath so great strength in euerye place: that by custome it was reputed in som countreys a moche charitable dede, if a man wolde, whan his father were very olde, first sore beate hym, and after thruste hym heedlonge into a pytte, and so bereue hym of his lyfe, by whome it chaunced hym to haue the gyfte of lyfe. It was counted a holy thyng, a man to fede on the fleshe of his owne kyns men and frendes. They thoughtit a goodly thynge, that a virgin shulde be made cōmon to the people in the temple of Venus. And

many

many other thynges, more abhominable the these: of whiche if a man shoulde nowe but onely speake, euery manne wolde abhorre to here hym. Surely there is nothynge so vngratious, nor nothynge so cruelle, but men woll holde therwith, if it be ones approued by custome. Then wyll ye here, what a dede they durste at the laste do? They were not abashed to eate the carcases of the wylde beastis that were slayne: to teare the vnsauery flesshe with theyr tethe, to drynke the bloudde, to sucke out the matter of theym: and (as Ouide sayth) to hide the beastes bowels within their owne. And although that at that time semed, to be an outragious dede, vnto them, that were of a more mylde and gentyll courage: yet was it generally allowed, and all by reason of custome and commoditie. Yet were they not so content. For they went from the sleinge of noysom wylde beastes, to kylle the harmeles beastes, and suche as dyd none hurte at all. They waged cruell euery where vppon the poore shepe, a beaste without fraude or gyle. They slewe the haare, for none other offence, but bicause he was a good fatte dysshe of meate to fede vppon. Nor they forbare not to kyl the tame oxe, whiche hadde a longe season, with his

foore labour nourysshed the vnkynde house-holde. They spared no kynde of beastis, of fouses, nor of fysshes. Yea and the tyrranny of glottony went so ferforth, that there was no beaste any where, that coude be sure from the cruelties of man. Yea & custome persuaded this also, that it semed no cruelnes at all to slee any maner of beast, what so euer it was, so they absteyned from manslaughter. Now peraduenture it lyeth in our power to kepe out vices, that they entre not vpō the maners of men, in lyke maner as it lyeth in our power to kepe out the see, that it breke not in vpon vs: But whā the see is ones broken in, it passeth our power to restreyn it within any bondes. So eyther of them both ones let in, they wyll not be ruled, as we wolde, but ronne forthe heedlonge whither so euer theyr owne rage carieth them. And so after that menne had bene exercised with suche begynnynges to slaughter, wrath anon entysed man to set vpon man, eyther with staffe, or with stone, or elles with his fyste. For as yet, I thynke they vsed none other weapons. And nowe had they lerned by the kyllynge of beastes, that man also myght sone and easily be slayn with lyttell labour. But this cruelnes remayned betwyxte singular persones, so that

yet

yet was there no great nombre of men, that fought to gether, but as it chanced one man ageynste an other. And beside this, there was no smalle colour of equitie, if a manne slewe his ennemie: ye and shortely after, it was a great preyse to a man, to slee a violēt and a mischeuous manne, and to rydde hym out of the worlde, suche dyuelysshe and cruelle caytyues, as men saye Cacus and Busiris were. For we see playnely, that for suche causes, Hercules was greatly preysed. And in proces of tyme, many assembled to take parte to gether, eyther as affinitie, or as neyghbourheed, or kynred bounde them. And that that is nowe robberye, was then warre. And they soughte then with stones, or with stakes, a lyttell burned at the endes. A lyttell ryuer, a rocke, or suche other lyke thynge, chaunsynge to be betwene theym, made an ende of theyr battayle.

In the meane seson, whiles fiersnes by vse increaseth, whyles wrath is growen great, and ambition hotte and vehement: by ingenious crafte, they arme theyr furious violence. They diuise harneys, suche as it is, to fense them with. They inuente weapons to distroy theyr ennemyes with. Thus nowe by fewe and fewe, nowe with greatter com-

pany, and nowe armed they begyn to fighte. Nor to this manifeste madnes they forgette not to gyue honour. For they cal it Bellum, that is to sey, a fayre thyng: ye and they repute it a vertuous dede, if a man with the ieoperdie of his owne lyfe, manlye resiste and defende from the violence of his enmies, his wyfe, chyldren, beastis, and householde. And by lyttell and lyttell, malice grewe so great, with the high estemyng of other thinges, that one citie beganne to sende defiance and make warre to an other, countreye ageynste countrey, and royalme ageynste royalme. And though the thyng of it selfe was thē most cruel: yet al this while there remained in thē certayn tokēs, wherby they myght be knowē for men. For such goodis as by violēce were taken awey: were asked and required ageyne by an heralde at armes, the goodis were called to wytnes, ye and whan they were ranged in battayle, they wolde reason the matter, er they fought. And in the battaylle they vsed but homely weapons, nor they vsed neyther gyle nor discepte, but onely strength. It was not lefull for a man to stryke his ennemie, tyll the signe of batayle was gyuen. Nor it was not lefull to fyghte after the sownynge of the retreate. And for

con-

conclusion, they fought more to shewe theyr manlynes, and for pryse, than they coueted to slee. Nor all this whyle they armed them not, but ageynste straungers, the whiche they called hostes, as they had ben hospites, their guestis. Of this rose empires, of the whiche there was neuer none yet in any nation, but it was gotten with the greatte shedynge of mans bloudde. And sith that tyme there hath folowed continuall course of warre, whiles one estesones laboureth to put an other out of his empire, and to set hym selfe in.

After all this, when the empyres camme ones in to theyr handes, that were most vngratious of all other: they made warre vpon who so euer pleased theym: nor they were not in greatteste peryll and daunger of warre, that had mosste deserued to be punysshed, but they that by fortune hadde gotten great riches. And now they made not warre to gette pryse and fame, but to gette the vile mucke of the worlde, or els some other thynge far worse then that.

I thynke not the contrarye, but that the greatte wyse manne Pythagoras, ment these thynges: when he by a propre diuise of philosophie, feared the vnlerned multitude of people from the sleinge of sely beastis. For he

he perceyued, hit ſhoulde at lengthe come to paſſe, that he whiche (by none iniurie prouoked) was accuſtomed to ſpille the blond of a harmeles beaſte, wolde in his anger, beynge prouoked by iniurie, not feare to ſlee a man.

Warre, what other thyng els is it, than a cõmon manſlaughter of many men to gether, & a robbery? the which, the farther it ſprawleth abrode, the more miſchieuous it is. But many groſſe gentylmen nowe a dayes laugh merily at theſe thinges, as though they were the dreames and dotynges of ſcholemen, the whiche ſauynge the ſhappe, haue no peynte of manhoode, yet ſeme they in theyr owne conceyte to be goddis. And yet of thoſe begynnynges, we ſee we be rounne ſo farre in madneſſe, that we doo nought elles alle oure lyfe dayes. We warre continuallye, nation with nation, royalme with royalme, cytie with cytie, Prince with prince, people with people, ye and (hit that the heathen people confeſſe to be a wyckedde thynge) couſyne with couſyne, alyaunce, with alyaunce, brother with brother, the ſonne with the father, ye and that I eſteme more cruelle thanne all theſe thynges, a Chriſten manne agaynſte an other manne.

And

And yet farthermoze, I wolde saye, that I am very lothe to doo, whiche is a thynge moste cruell of all, one christen man with an other christen manne. Oh blyndenesse of mannes mynde, at those thynges no man marueyleth, no manne abhozrethe theym. There be some that reioyce at theym, and pzeyse theym aboue the moone: and the thynge whiche is moze thenne dyuyllysshe, they calle a holye thynge. Olde menne croked forage, make warre, pzyestes make warre, monkes gone forthe to warre, yea and with a thynge so dyuyllysshe we myngle Christ. The batayles raunged, they encountre the one the other, bearynge before theym the signe of the Crosse, whyche thynge alone myghte at the laste wyse admonysshe vs, by what meanes it shoulde become christen men to ouercomme.
But we ronne heedlonge eche to dystroye other, euen from that heuenly sacrifyce of the auter, wherby is represented that perfecte, and ineffable knyttynge to gether of al christen men. And of so wicked a thynge, we make Christe bothe auctour and wyttenes. Where is the kyngedome of the dyuelle, yf hit be not in Warre? Why draxe we Christe into warre? with whome a brotherly

howse

howse agreeth more then warre? Hayncle Pauke disdayneth, that there shoulde be any so great discorde amonge christen men, that they shoulde nede any iudge to discusse the matter betwene them. What and he shoulde come and beholde vs nowe throughe all the worlde, warrynge for euerye lyghte and trifelynge cause, stryuyng more cruelly then euer dydde any hethen people, and more cruelly then any barbarous people. Yea and ye shall see it done by the auctoritie, exhortations, and furtheringes of those, that represent Christe, the prince of peace, and very byshoppe, that all thinges knytteth together by peace: and those that salute the people with good lucke of peace. Nor it is not vnknowen to me, what these vnlerned people, wyll say (a good whyle sens) ageinst me in this matter, the whose wynnynges aryse of the common yuels. They saye thus. We make warre ageynste our wylles: for we be constrayned by the vngrations dedes of other. We make warre but for our right. And if there come any hurte therof, thanke theym that be causers of it. But lette these men holde theyr tongues a whyle, and I shal after in place conuenient, anoyde all theyr cauilations: and plucke of that false visour,

wherwith we hyde all our malice.

But firste as I haue aboue compared man with warre, that is to say, the creature most demure, with a thynge moste outragious, to the intent that cruelnes myght the better be perceyued: So wyll I compare warre and peace to gether, the thynge moste wretched, and moste myschieffull, with the beste and moste welthy thynge that is: And so at laste shall appere, howe greatte madnes it is, with so greatte ruffelynge, with so great laboures, with suche intollerable expences, with so many daungers and extreme perylles, with so many calamities, affectionately to despyse warre: where as agrement myght be bought with a farre lesse price.

Fyrste of all, what in all this worlde is more sweter or better then amitie or loue? Truely nothynge. And I pray you, what other thynge is peace then amitie and loue amonge many men? lyke as warre on the other side is nought els but discention and debate of many men together. And surely the proprietie of good thynges is suche, that the broder they bene spredde, the more profyte and commoditie cometh of them. Farther if the loue of one singular person with an other be so swete and delectable: howe great shuld

the

the felicitie be, if realme with realme, & nation with nation were coupled together, with the bande of amitie and loue? On the tother syde, the nature of yuelle thynges is suche, that the farther they spraule abrode, the more worthy they are to be called yuell, as they be in ded. Then if it be a wretched thing, if it be an Vngrationis thynge, that one man armed shuld fight with an other, how muche more miserable, how much more mischiuous is it, that the selfe same thynge shoulde be done with so many thousandes to gether? By loue and peace the smalle thynges increace and waxe great, by discorde and debate the great thynges decaye and come to nought. Peace is the mother and nource of all good thynges. Warre sodaynly and at ones ouerthrowethe, destroyeth, and vtterly fordoth euery thynge that is pleasant and fayre, and bryngeth in amonge men a monstre of alle mischeuous thynges.

In the tyme of peace (none other wyse than as vere, the lusty springynge tyme, shulde shewe and shyne in mens businesses) the feldes are tylled, the gardeyns and orchardes fresshely florysshe, the beastes pasture merysly, gaye manours in the contreye are edyfyed, the townes are buylded, where

as nede is, reparations are done, the buildynges are highted, and augmented, ryches increaceth, plesures are nourished, the lawes are executed, the common welthe flourysheth, religion is feruente, ryghte rayneth, gentylnesse is vsed, craftis men are busylye exercised, the poore mens gaynes is more plentifull, the welthynes of the ryche men is more gay and goodly, the studies of most honeste lernynges florishen, youthe is well taughte, the aged folkes haue quiette and reste, maidens are luckely maryed, mothers are praysed for brynginge forth of chyldren like to their progenitours, the good men prospere and do well, and the yuell men doo lesse offence.

¶ But as soone as the cruel tempest of war cometh on vs, good lorde, howe greatte a floud of mischeues, occupieth, ouerfloweth and drowneth all to gether. The fayre hirdes of beastes are dryuen a way, the goodly corne is trodden downe and distroyed, the good husbande men are slayne, the villages are burned vp, the moste welthy cities, that haue florished so many wynters, with that one storme are ouerthrowen, distroyed, and brought to naughte: so moche more redyer & prompter men are to do hurte th[illegible] good.

What mischief cometh of warre.

The good citezens are robbed and spoyled of theyr goodes by cursed theues and murtherers. Euery place is ful of feare, of waylynge, complaynynge, & lamentynge. The craftes men stande idell: the pooze men must eyther dye foz hunger, oz fall to stealynge. The ryche men eyther they stande and sozowe foz theyr goodes, that be pluckte and snatched frome theym, ozels they stande in great doute to lose such goodes as they haue lefte theym: so that they be on euerye syde wo begonne. The maydens, eyther they be not maryed at all, oz els if they be maryed, theyr mariages are sorowfull and lamentable. Wynes beynge destitute of theyr husbandes, lye at home without anye frute of chyldren, the lawes are layde aside, gentylnes is laughed to scozne, ryght is clene exiled, religion is sette at nought, halowed and vnhalowed thynges al is one, youthe is cozrupted with al maner of vices, the olde folke they wayle and wepe, and wysshe them selfe out of the wozlde, there is no honour gyuen vnto the study of good letters. Finally there is no tonge can telle, the harme and mischief that we feele in warre.

¶ Perchaunce warre myght be the better suffred, if it made vs but only wzetched and

nedy

nedy, but it maketh vs vngratious, and also ful of vnhappynes: and I thynke Peace lyke wyse shulde be moche made of, and it were but onely bycause it maketh vs moze welthy and better in our lyuynge. Alas there be to many all redy, ye and mo then to many mischiues and yuelles, with the whiche the wretched lyfe of man (whether he wyll oz no) is continually vexed, turmented, and vtterly consumed.

¶ It is nere hande two thousande yere sithe the phisitians had knowlege of thze hundzed dyuers notable sickenesses by name, besyde other small sickenesses and newe, as daylye spzynge amonge vs, and be syde aege also, whiche is of it selfe a sikenes ineuitable.

¶ We rede, that in one place whole cities haue ben destroyed with ertbe quakes. We rede also, that in an other place there haue ben cities al to gether bzente with lightning: howe in an other place whole regions haue ben swallowed vp with openyng of the erth, townes by vndermyninge haue fallen to the grounde: so that I nede not here to remembze what a great multitude of men aze dayly destroyed by dyuers chaunces, whiche be not regarded, by cause they happe so often: as sodayne bzeakynge out of the see, and of

greatte flouddes, fallynge downe of hylles and houses, poyson, wylde beastes, meate, drynke, and slepe. One hath ben strangled with drynkynge of a heare in a draughte of mylke, an other hath ben choked with a littel grape stone, an other with a fisshe bone stykynge in his throte. There hath bene, that sodeyne ioy hath kylled out of hande: for it is lesse wonder of them that dye for vehement sorowe. Besyde all this, what mortal pestilence se we in euery place. There is no parte of the worlde, that is not subiecte to peryl and daunger of mans lyfe, whiche life of it selfe also is moste fugitiue. So manyfolde mischaunces and yuels assayle man on euerye syde, that not withoute cause Homer dyd say: Man was the most wretched of al creatures lyuynge.

¶ But for as moche these myschaunces can not lyghtly be eschewed, nor they happe not through our faute, they make vs but onelye wretched, and not vngratious withall. What a pleasure is it than for them that be subiecte all redy to so many miserable chaunces, wilfyngely to seke and procure them selfe a nother myschefe more than they hadde before, as thoughe they yet wanted myserye? Ye they procure not a lyghte yuell, but suche an

yuell

ynell that is worse than al the other, so mischiffull, that it alone passethe all the other: so aboundante, that in it selfe alone is comprehended all vngratiousnesse: so pestilente, that it maketh vs all a lyke wicked as wreched, it maketh vs full of all misery, and yet not worthy to be pitied.

¶Nowe go farther, and with al these thynges consider, that the commodites of Peace spreaden them selfe moost farre and wyde, and pertayne vnto many men. In warre if there happen any thynge luckely (but o good lorde, what may we saye happeth well and luckely in warre?) yit perteyneth to verye fewe: and to theym, that are vnworthye to haue it. The prosperitie of one is the distruction of an other. The inrychyng of one, is the spoyle and robbynge of an other. The triumphe of one, is the lamentable mourning of an other, so that as the infelicite is bytter and sharpe, the felicite is cruell and bloudy. Howe be it other whyle bothe parties wepen accordynge to the prouerbe, Victoria Cadmæa, Cadmus victorie, where boothe parties repented. And I wotte not whether it came euer so happely to passe in warre, that he that had victorye, dyd not repent him of his enterprise, if he were a good man.

¶ Than ſeinge Peace is the thynge aboue all other moſte beſt & moſt pleſant, & contrarie wyſe warre, the thynge moſte vngratious and wretched of all other: ſhall we thynke thoſe men to be in theyr ryghte myndes, the whiche when they may opteyne Peace with lyttell buſynes and labour, wol rather procure warre with ſo greate labour, and moſte diffyculdye?

¶ Fyrſte of all conſider, howe lothelye a thynge the rumour of warre is, when hit is fyrſte ſpoken of. Then howe envious a thing hit is vnto a prince, whyles with often demes & taxes he pilleth his ſubiectes. What a buſyneſſe hath he to make and entreteyne frendes to helpe hym, what a buſineſſe to procure bendes of ſtrangers, and to hyre ſowdyars?

Charges warre.

¶ What expences and labours muſt he make in ſettynge forth his Nauey of ſhyppes, in buildynge and repayrynge of caſtelles and fortreſſes, in prepayrynge and apparaylyng of his tentes and pauilions, in framynge, makyng, and caryenge of ingyns, gounnes, armour, weapons, baggage, cartes, and vitayle? what greate labour is ſpente, in makynge of bulwarkes, in caſtynge of dytches, in dyggynge of mines, in keppynge of watches

ches, in keppynge of arrayes, and in exercy-
synge of wepons? I passe ouer the feare
they be in, I speake not of the iminent danger
and perill that hangeth ouer theyr heedes
(for what thynge in warre is not to be fea-
red?) what is he that can reken all the in-
commodious lyfe, that the moofte folyfhe
fowdiours suffern in the felde? And for that
worthy to endure worfe, in that they woll
suffer it wyllyngely. Theyr meate is so yll,
that an oxe of Cypres wolde be loth to eate
hit: they haue but lyttell slepe, nor yet
that at theyr owne pleasure. Theyr tentes
on euery syde are open on the wynde. what
a tent? no no, they muste all the day longe,
be it hotte or colde, wete or dryye, stande in
the open ayre, slepe on the bare grounde,
stande in theyr harneis. They muste suffre
hunger, thrufte, colde, hete, duste, showres,
they muste be obedient to theyr capitaynes,
sometymes they be clapt on the pate with a
warder or a trouncheon, so that there is no
bondage so vyle as the bondage of sodiours.
¶ We syde al this, at the sorowful sygne gy-
uen to fyght, they muste ronne hedlonge to
deathe: for eyther they muste slee cruelly,
or be slayne wretchedly. So many sorowful
labours must they take in hande, that they

Sodiou
lyfe.

may bryngе to passe that thyngе, whiche is mooste wretched of al other. With so many great miseries we must fyrste afflicte and greue our owne selfe, that we mowe afflicte and greue other.

¶ Nowe if we wolde call this matter to accumpte, and iustely reken, how moche warre woll coste, and howe moche peace, surely we shall fynde that peace may be gotte and opteyned with the tenthe parte of the cares, labours, greffes, perils, expences, and spillyngе of bloudde, with whiche the warre is procured. So greate a company of men, to theyr extreme perilles, ye leade out of the realme to ouerthrowe and distroye some one towne: and with the labour of the selfe same men, and without any peryll at all, an other towne moche more nobler and goodly, might be newe edified and buylded. But you saye, you wil hourt & greue your ennemy: so euen that doing is agaynst humanytie. Nenertheles this I wolde ye shuld cõsider, that ye can not hurt & greue your ennemies, but ye muste firste gretly hurt your owne people. And it semeth a point of a madde man, to enterprise where he is sure & certayne of so great hurte & damage, & is vncertayne, which way the chaunce

chaunce of warre wyll turne.

¶ But admytte, that eyther folyshenesse, or wrathe, or ambition, or couetousnes, or outragious crueltie, or elles (whiche I thynke more lyke) the furies sente from helle, shulde rauyshe and drawe the hethen people to this madnes. Yet from whence commeth it in to our myndes, that one christen man shoulde drawe his weapon to bathe it in an other christen mans bloudde? It is called Parricide, if the one brother slee the other. And yet is a christen man narre ioyned to an other, then is one brother to an other: except the bondes of nature be stronger then the bondes of Christ. What abominable thinge than is it to se them almoste continually fyghtynge amonge them selfe, the whiche are the inhabytantes of one house the churche, whiche reioyce and saye, that they all be the membres of one body, and that haue one heed, whiche trewelye is Christ, they haue al one father in heuen, they are all taughte and comforted by one holye spirite: they professe the relygion of Christe all vnder one maner: they are all redemed with Christes bloud: they are al newe borne at the holy fonte, they vse al lyke sacramentis, they be al soudiours vnder one capitaine, they

Parrici is more abhorre thē simp mans slaught

they are all fedde with one heuenly breade: they drynke all of one spirituall cuppe, they haue one common ennemy the dyuell: fynally they be all called to one enheritance: Where be they so many sacramentes of perfecte concorde? Where be the innumerable teachynges of peace? There is one specyall precepte, whiche Christe called his, that is Charitie. And what thynge is soo repugnante to Charite as warre? Christe saluted his disciples with the blessed lucke of peace. Unto his disciples he gaue nothynge saue peace, saynge peace he lefte them nothynge. In those holy prayers, he specyally prayed the father of heuen, that in lyke maner as he was one with the father, so al his, that is to saye christen men, shoulde be one with hym. Lo here you maye perceye a thynge more then peace, more then amitie, more than concorde.

Charitie.

¶ Salomon bare the figure of Christe: for Salomon in the hebrewe tonge sowneth peasible or pacyfull. Hym god wolde haue to builde his temple.

¶ At the byrthe of Christe the angels proclaymed nother warre nor trymphes, but peace they sange. And before his byrthe the prophet Dauid prophesied thus af hym:

Et

Et factus est in Pace locus eius, that is to saye, his dwellynge place is made in peace. ¶ Serche all the hole lyfe of Christe, and ye shal neuer fynde thinge, that bzethe not of peace, that sowneth not amitie, that sauoureth not of charytye. And bycause he perceyued peace coude not well be kepte, except men wolde vtterly despise all tho thynges, foz whiche the wozlde so gredelye fyghteth, he commaunded, that we shulde of hym lerne to be meke. He calleth them blessed and happy, that setteth naught by ryches, foz those he calleth pooze in spirite. Blessed be they, that despise the pleasures of this wozlde, the whiche he calleth mourners. And them blessed he calleth, that pacientlye suffre them selfe, to be put out of theyz possessions, knowinge that here in this wozlde they are but as outlawes: and the very trewe countrey & possessiō of godly creatures is in heuē. He calleth them blessed, whiche deseruynge well of all men, are wzongefully blamed, and yll afflicted. He fozbade that any man shoulde resyste yuell. Wrefelye, as all his doctryne commaundeth sufferaunce and loue, soo all his lyfe teacheth nothynge els but mekenes. So he reigned, so he warred, so he ouercam, so he triumphed.

The ly
of Chri

¶ Noz

For the appostols, that had sucked in to theym the pure spirite of Christe, and were blessedly dronke with that newe muste of the holy gooste, preched nothynge but mekenesse and peace. What do all the epistols of Paule sounde in euery place but peace, but longanimite, but Charitie? What speaketh saynct Johñ, what rehersseth he so ofte, but loue? What other thynge dyd Peter? What other thynge dydde all the true christen writers? From whens then cometh al this ruffling of warres amonges the chyldren of peace? Thynke ye it a fable, that Christe calleth him selfe a vyne tree, and hisen the branches? Who dyd euer see one branche fyghte with an other? Is it in vayne: that Paule so ofte wrote, The churche to be none other thyng, than one bodye compacte to gether of dyuers membres, cleuynge to one heed, Christe? Who euer sawe the eie fyght with ỳ hande, or the beaky with the fote? In this vniuersall body, compacte of all those vnlyke thynges, there is a gremente. In the bodye of a beaste, one membre is in peace with an other, eche membre vseth not the propertie therto gyuen, for it self alone, but for the profite of al the other membres. So that if there come any good to any one mẽbre alone, it helpeth

all

all the holle body. And may the compaction or knyttynge of Nature doo more in the body of a beaste, that shortly muste perisshe, than the couplynge of the holye goste in the mysticall and immortall body of the churche? Do we frustrately byd this prayer taughte vs by Christe: Good lorde euen as thy wyl is fulfylled in heuen, so let it be fulfylled in the erthe. In that citie of heuen is concorde and peace moste perfecte. And Christe wolde his churche to be none other, then a heuenly people in erthe, as nere as myghte be after the maner of them that are in heuen, euer labouring & making haast to go thyther, and all wayes haupnge theyr mynde theron. Mat.6.

¶ Nowe go to, lette vs imagen, that there shoulde come some newe guest out of the Lunarie cities, where Empedocles dwelleth, or els out of the innumerable worldes, that Democritus forged, in to this worlde, desiring to know what the inhabitantes do here. And when he were instructed of euery thyng, it should at laste be tolde him, that besydes al other, there is one creature maruaylously mingled, of body like to brute bestis, & of soul like vnto god. And it shuld also be tolde hym, that this creture is so noble, that tough he be here an outlawe out of his owne countrey, yet

yet are all other beastes at his commaundemente, the whiche creature throughe his heuenly begynnyng inclyneth alway to thynges heuenly and immortall. And that god eternall loued this creature so well, that where as he coude neyther by the gyftes of nature, nor by ỹ strong reasões of philosophy atteine vnto that whiche he so feruently desired, he sente hyther his onely begotten sonne, to the intente to teache this creature a newe kinde of lernynge. Then as soone as this newe guest had perceyued well the hole maner of Christes lyfe and preceptes, wolde desyre to stande in some higher place, from whence he myghte beholde that that he had harde. And whan he sholde se al other creatures soberly lyue accordynge to theyr kynde, & beinge led by the lawes and course of nature, desyred nothynge but euen as nature wolde: and sholde se this one speciall creature man gyuen ryottously to tauerne hauntynge, to vile lucre, to byinge and sellynge, choppynge & chaungynge, to braulyng and fyghtynge one with another, trowe ye that he wolde not thynke that any of the other creatures were man, of whome he harde so moche of before, rather than he that is in dede man? Than if he that hadde instructed hym afore, wolde

shewe

sewe hym, whiche creature is man: nowe wolde he loke about to se if he coude spie the christen flocke and companye, the whiche folowynge the ordynaunce of that heuenly techer Christe, shoulde exhibite to hym a figure or shappe of the aungelycall cytye.

Thynke ye he wolde not rather iudge christians to dwell in anye other place, then in those countrayes, wherin we se so great superfluite, riotte, voluptuousenesse, pryde, tyrannye, discorde, braulynges, fyghtynges, warres, ruffelynges, ye and breffelye to speake, a greater puddell of al those thinges that Christe reprouethe: then amonge Turkes or Saracens? From whence then crepeth this pestilence in amonge christen people? Doutles this mischefe also is come in by lyttel and littel, lyke as manye mo other be, ere men be ware of them. For trewlye euery mischiefe crepeth by lyttel and lyttell vppon the good maners of men, or els vnder the colowr of goodnesse hit is sodeynlye receyued.

¶ So then fyrste of all lernynge and counynge crepte in as a thynge verye mete to confounde heretykes, whiche defende theyr opinions with the doctryne of philosophers, poetis, and oratours. And surely at the be- Erudit

gynning

gynnynge of our fayth, chriſten men dyd not
lerne thoſe thynges, but ſuche as parauen-
ture had lerned theym, before they knewe
what Chriſte ment, they turned the thynge
that they had lerned allredy, in to good vſe.
¶ Elouqence of tonge was at the beginnyng
diſſembled more thā diſpiſed, but at lengthe it
was openly approued. After that vnder co-
lour of confoundynge heretikes, came in an
ambicious pleaſure of braulynge diſpitions,
whiche hath brought in to the churche of
Chriſte no ſmall miſchiefe. At lengthe the
matter wente ſo farre forthe, that Ariſtotell
was al to gether reſceued into the middel of
diuinitie, & ſo receyued, that his auctoritie is
almoſte reputed holyer than the auctoritie of
Chriſte. For if Chriſte ſpake anye thynge
that dyd lyttell agree with our lyfe, by inter
pretation of Ariſtotell it was lefull to make
it ſerue theyr purpoſe. But if any do neuer
ſo lyttell repugne agaynſte the hygh dyuinyt-
tie of Ariſtotell, he is quickelye with clap-
pynge of handes driuen out of the place. For
of hym we haue lerned, that the felycytie of
man is vnperfecte, except he haue bothe the
good gyftes of bodye and of fortune. Of
hym we haue lerned, that no common weale
may floriſſhe, in whiche all thinges are com-

mune.

mune. And we indeuour our selfe to glewe faste to gether the decretes of this man and the doctryne of Christe: which is as likely a thynge as to myngle fyre and water together. And a gobbet we haue receyued of the ciuell lawes, bycause of the equitie, that semeth to be in them: And to thende they shuld the better serue our purpose, we haue as nere as may be, writhed and plyed the doctrine of the gospell to them. Nowe by the ciuile lawe it is lefull for a man to defende violence with violence, and eache to pursue for his ryght. Those lawes approue bienge and sellynge: they allowe vsury, so it be measurable, they praise warre as a noble thynge, so it be iuste. Fynally al the doctryne of Christ is so defiled with the lernynge of Logicians, sophisters, astronomers, oratours, poetis, philosophers, lawyers, and gentyles, that a man shall spende the mooste parte of his lyfe, ere he may haue any leysure to serche holy scripture, to the whiche when a man at laste cometh, he muste come infecte with so manye worldly opinions, that eyther he muste be offended with Christes doctrynes, or els he muste applie them to the mynde & doctryne of them that he hath lerned before. And this thynge is so moch approued, that it

is nowe a heynous dede, if a man presume to study holy scripture, whiche hath not noselled hym selfe vp to the harde eares in those trifils, or rather sophestries of Aristotle. Althoughe Christis doctrine were suche, that it were not lefull for all men to knowe hit, ozels that it coude by any meanes agre with the wysedome of philosophers. Besyde this we admitted at the begynnynge of our feyth some honour, whiche afterwarde we claymed as of duite. Than we resceyued riches, but that was to distrybute to releue poore men, whiche afterwarde we turned to our owne vse. And why not, sith we haue lerned by the lawe ciuile, that the verye order of charite is, that euery man muste fyrste prouide for hym selfe? Nor there lacke no colours to cloke this mischiefe: fyrste hit is a good dede to prouide for our children: and it is right that we forsee how to lyue in age. Finally, why shulde we, say they, gyue our goodes away, if we come by theym without fraude? By these grices hit is by lyttell and lyttell come to passe, that he is taken for the mooste best man, that hath mooste ryches: nor neuer was there more honour gyuen to ryches amonge the hethen people, then is at this daye amonge the christen peo-

ple

ple. For what thynge is there eyther spiritualle or temporalle, that is not done with greatte shewe of riches? And yit semedde a thynge agreable with those ornamentis, if christen men had some greate iurisdicion vnder theym. For there wanted not suche, as gladly submitted theym selfe. Albeit at the begynnynge it was agaynste theyr wylles, and scantly wolde they receyne yit. And yet with moche worke, they resceyned it so, that they were contente with the name and tytle only: the profite therof they gladly gaue vn to other men. At the laste by lytteli and lyttell it came to passe, that a bysshop thoughte hym selfe no bisshoppe, excepte he had some temporal lordshyp withal. An abbot thought him self of smal auctorite, if he had not wher with to play the lordly syre. And in conclusion, we blusshed neuer a dele at the matter, we wypped awey al shamfastnes, & shoft a side al the barres of comlynes. And what euer abusion was vsed amonge the hethen people, were it couetousnes, ambition, riotte, pompe, or pride, or tyranny, the same we folowe, in the same we matche theym, ye and farre passe theym. And to passe ouer the lyghter thinges for the while, I pray you, was there euer warre amonge the hethen peple so long

continually, or more cruelly, than amonge christen people? What stormy romblynges, what violente braydes of warres, what tearynge of leages, and what pitious slaughters of men haue we sene our selfe within these fewe yeres? What nation hath not fought and sky-mousshed with an other? And then we go and curse the Turke, and what canne be a more pleasante syghte to the Turkes, then to beholde vs daply eche sleynge other?

¶ Xerxes doted, when he ledde oute of his owne countreye that huge multitude of people to make warre vppon the Grekes. Trowe ye, he was not madde, when he wrot letters to the mountayne called Atho, thretnynge that the hylle shulde repente it, except he obeyed his luste: And the same Xerxes commaunded also the see to be beaten, because it was somewhat rough when he shuld haue sailed ouer.

¶ Who wol denye but Alexander the great was madde also? he the ponge god wissed, that there were manye worldes, the whiche he myght conquere. So greatte a fener of vayne glorye had enbraced his ponge lustye courage. And yet these same men, the whiche Seneca doubted not to call madde thenes,

nes, warred after a gentyller facion then we do, they were more feythfull of theyr promise in warre, nor they vsed not so mischiuous ingins in warre, nor suche craftes and subtelties, nor they warred not for soo lyghte causes as we christen men do. They reioysed to anaunce and enryche suche pronynces as they hadde conquered by warre, and the rude people, that lyued lyke wylde beastis without lawes, lernynge, or good maners, they taughte them boothe ciuyle condicions, and craftis, where by they might lyue lyke men. In countreys that were not inhabited with people, they builded cities, and made them bothe fayre and profitable. And the places that were not very sure, they fensed for sauegarde of the people with bridges, bankes, bulwarkes, and with a thousande suche other commodities they holpe the lyfe of man. So that then it was ryght expedient to be ouer come. Ye and howe manye thynges rede we, that were eyther wyselp done, or soberly spoken of theym in the myddes of theyr warres. As for those thynges, that are done in christen mens warres they are more fylthy & cruell than is conueniente here to reherse. More ouer loke what was worst in the hethen peoples war-

res,

res, in that we folow them, ye we passe them.
¶ But nowe it is a worlde to here, by what meanes we meyntayne this our so gret madnes. Thus they reson. If it had not ben lefull by noo meanes to make warre, surely god wolde neuer haue benne the auctour to the Jewes to make warre agaynst theyr ennemes. Wel sayd, but we must adde hereunto, that the Jewes neuer made warre amonge them selfe, but ageynste strangers and wicked men. We, christen men, fyght with christen men. Diuersite of relygiō caused the Jewes to fyghte agaynst theyr ennemyes: for theyr ennemyes worshypte not god as they dyd. We make warre often tymes for a littell chyldyshe angre, or for hunger of money, or for thyrste of glory, orels for fylthy mede. The Jewes fought by the commandment of god, we make warre to auenge the grefe and displeasure of our mynde. And netheles if men wol so moch leane to the example of the Jewes, why do we not thā in like maner vse circumcision? Why do we not sacrifice with the bloude of shepe and other beastis? Why do we not absteyne from swynes fleshe? Why doth not eche of vs wedde many wynes? Syth we abhorre those thynges, why dothe the example of war please vs so moche?

moch? Why do we here folow the bare lettre that kylleth? It was permitted the Jewes to make war, but so lyke wise as they were suffred to depart from their wiues, doubtles bycause of theyr harde & froward maners. But after Christ cõmanded the swoorde to be put vp, it is vnlefull for christen men, to make any other war but that which is the most fairest war of al, with the most egre & fierce ennemyes of the church, with affection of money, with wrath, with ambition, with drede of death. These be our philisteins, these be our Nabuchodonosor, these be our Moabitis and Ammonitis, with the whiche it behoueth vs to haue no truce. With these we muste continually fyghte, vntylle (our ennemies beinge vtterly vanquished) we may be in quiette, for except we may ouercome them, there is no mã that may atteine to any true peace, nother with him self, nor yet wt none other. For this war alone is cause of true peace. He that ouercometh in this battaile, wolle make war with no man liuing. Nor I regarde not the interptacio, ṗ some men make of the two swordes to signifie either power spiritual & tẽporal. Whã Christ suffred Peter to erre purposely, ṗ after he was cõmãded to put vp his sword, no man shuld doubt, but ṗ warre was

forboden, whiche before semed to be lefull. But Peter (say they) fought. Trewe it is, Peter foughte, he was yet but a Iewe, and had not the spirite of a very christen man. He foughte not for his landes, or for any suche tytles of landes as we do, nor yet for his owne lyfe, but for his maysters lyfe. And fynally, he fought, the whiche within a while after forsoke his mayster. Nowe if men wolde nedes folowe the example of Peter that foughte, why mowe they not as well folowe the example of hym forsakyng his mayster? And thoughe Peter throughe sympell affection erred, yet dyd his maister rebuke hym. For els, if Christe dyd allowe suche maner of defence, as some mooste folysshely do interpretate, why dothe bothe all the lyfe and doctryne of Christe preache none other thynge but suffraunce? Why sent he forth his disciples ageynste tyrantes armed with nothynge els but with a walkyng staffe and a scrippe. If that sworde, whiche Christe commaunded his disciples to selle theyr cotes to bie, be moderat defēce againste persecutours, lyke as some men do not onely wyckedlye but also blyndlye interpretate, why did the martyrs neuer vse that defence? But (saye they) the lawe of nature commaundeth,

maundeth, it is approued by the lawes, and allowed by custome, that we ought to put of from vs violence by violence, and that eche of vs shulde defende his lyfe, and eke his money, when the money (as Hesiodus saith) is as leese as the lyfe. All this I graunte, but yet grace, the lawe of Christe, that is of more effecte than all these thynges, commaundeth vs, that we shulde not speake yll to them, that speake shrewedly to vs: that we shulde do wel to them, that do yll to vs, and to theym that take awaye parte of our possessions, we shoulde ayue the whole: and that we shulde also pray for them, that imagin our dethe. But these thynges (sey they) apperteyne to the apostolles, ye they apperteine to the vniuersall people of Christe, & to the hole body of Christes churche, that must nedes be a whole and a perfecte bodye, all though in theyr gyftes one membre is more excellent than an other. To them the doctrine of Christe apperteyneth not, that hope not to haue reward with Christe. Let them fight for money and lordshyps, that sawghe to scorne the sayeng of Christ: Blessed be the poore men in spirite: that is to say, be they poore or ryche, blessed be they, that coueted no riches in this worlde. They that put all

their felicite in these richesses, they fight gladly to defende their life, but they be those that vnderstand not this life to be rather a dethe, nor they perceyue not, that euerlastynge lyfe is prepared for good men. Nowe they lay agaynst vs, diuers bysshops of Rome, the whiche haue ben both auctours and aydours of warring. True it is, some such there haue be, but they were of late, & in such tyme as the doctrine of Christ waxed colde. Ye & they be very fewe in cõparison of the holy fathers that were before them, which with their writinges pswade vs to flee war. Why are these fewe exãples most in mynde? Why turne we our eyes from Christ to men? And why had we rather folowe the vncertaine examples, thã the auctorite that is sure & certayne? For doubtles the bisshops of Rome were mẽ. And it may be righte well, that they were eyther fooles, or vngratious captiues. And yet we finde not that any of them approued, that we shuld styl continually war after this facio as we do. Which thinge I conde w̃ argumentis proue, if I listed to digresse & tarie therupõ.

¶ Sayncte Barnarde preysed warriours, but he so praysed them, that he condemned all the maner of our warfare. And yet why shulde the sayenge of sainct Barnarde,

or

or the dyspitiō of Thomas of Alquine moue me rather then the doctryne of Christe, whiche commaundeth, that we shulde in no wyse resyste iuell, specially vnder suche maner as the common people do resiste?

¶ But it is lefull (say they) that a trangressour be punished and put to deathe according to the lawes: then is it not lefull for a hole countrey or citie to be reuenged by warre? What may be answered in this place, is longer than is conueniente to reply. But this moche wol I say, there is a great difference. For the yuel doer founde fauty and conuicte, is by auctoritie of the lawes put to deathe. In warre there is nother parte with out faute. Where as one singular man doothe offende, the punyshemēt falleth only on hym selfe: & the example of the punyshement doth good vnto all other. In warre the mooste parte of the punyshemente and harmes fall vpon them that leaste deserued to be punynyshed: that is vpon husband men, olde men, honest wyues, yonge chyldren, and virgins. But if there may any commodite at al be gethered of this moste myscheffull thyng, that all to gether goth to the behoue of a certeine mooste vengeable theues, hyred soudiours, and stronge robbers, & parhappes to a sewe

cappitai-

capitaynes, by whose crafte warre was repsed for that intent, and with whiche the matter gothe neuer better, then when the common weale is in moste hyghe ieoperdie and perylle to be loste. There as one is for his offence greuously punished, it is the welthy warnynge of all other: where as in warre to thende to reuenge the quarell of one, or eks paraduenture of a fewe, we cruellye afflicte and greue so many thousandes of them that nothynge deserued. It were better leaue the offence of a fewe vnpunished, then whiles we seke occasion to punishe one or two, to bryng in to assured peril and daunger, both our neyghbours and innocent ennempes (we call them our ennemies, though they neuer dyd vs hurte) and yet are we Vncertayne, whether hit shall fall on theym or not, that we wolde haue punished. It is better to lette a wounde a lone, that can not be cured without greuous hourte and daunger of all the holle body, then go about to heale it. ¶ Nowe if any man wyll crie out and say: It were ageynste all ryghte, that he that offendeth, shulde not be punished. Here vnto I answere, that it is moche moze ageynst all right and reason, that so many thousandes of innocentes shoulde be brought into extreme

treme calamite and mischiefe without deseruynge. Albeit nowe adayes we se, that almoste all warres spryng vp I can not tell of what tytles, and of leages betwene princes, that whyles they go aboute to subdue to theyr dominion some one towne, they put in ieoperdye all theyr holle empire. And yet within a while after they sell or gyue a waye the same a towne agayne, that they gotte with shedynge of soo moche blondde. ¶Peraduenture some man woll sey: woldest not haue princis fighte for there ryghte? I knowe righte well, it is not mete for suche a man as I am, to dispute ouer boldyke of princis matters, and thought I might do it without any daunger, yet is it longer then is conuenient for this place. But this moch wol I say, If eche what soo euer title be a cause conuenient to go in hande with warre: there is no man that in soo greatte alteracions of mens affaires, & in so great variete, & changes, can want a title. What nacyon is there that hath not sometyme be put out of theyr owne countrey, and also haue put other out? Howe ofte haue people gone from one contrey to an other? How ofte haue holle empires be translat from one to an other either

by

by chaunce or by leage: Let the citisens of Padua claime nowe againe a goddes name the countrey of Trope for theyrs, bycause Antenor was sometymes a Tropan. Lette the Romaynes nowe hardly clayne agayne Affrycke and Spayne, bycause those prouynces were somtyme vnder the Romaines. We cal that a dominion, whiche is but an administration. The power and auctoritie ouer men, whiche be free by Nature, & ouer brute beastes, is not all one. What power and souerayntie so euer you haue, you haue it by the consente of the people. And if I be not deceiued, he that hath auctorite to gyue, hath auctoritie to take awaye ageyne. Wyll ye se howe small a matter it is that we make all this rufflynge fore. The stryfe is not, whether this citie or that shulde be obeysant to a good prynce, and not in bondage of a Tyrante, but whether Ferdinande or Sigismunde hath the better title to it: whether that citie ought to paye tribute to Philyp or to kynge Lewes. This is that noble rygbte, for the whiche all the worlde is thus vexed and troubled with warres & manslaughter. ¶ Yet go to, suppose that this right or title be as stronge, and of as great auctoritie as may be, suppose also there be no differencé betweene a prymate felde and a whole citie:

and

& admitte there be no difference betwene the beastes that you haue bought with your money & men, whiche be not onely free, but also trewe christians: yet is it a poynt of a wise man to caste in his mynde, whether the thing that you wol warre for, be of so great valure, that it wyll recompence the excedynge great harmes and losse of your owne people. If ye can not do in euery poynte as he commeth a prince, yet at the leaste wayes do as the marchant man dothe: he setteth naught by that losse, whiche he well perceyueth can not be auoided without a greatter losse, and he rekeneth it a wynnyng, that fortune hath ben ageynste hym with his so lyttell losse. Ouers at the leaste wyse folowe hym, of whom there is a mery tale commonly tolde.

¶ There were two kinsmen at Varience about deuiding of certayne goodes, and when they coude by no meanes agre, they must go to lawe to gether, that in conclusion the matter myght be ended by sentence of the iuges. They gotte theym atturneys, the plees were drawen, men of lawe had the matter in hande, they came before the iudges, the complaynte was entred, the cause was pletid, and so was the warre begonne betwene theym.

Anon

Anon one of them remembynge hym selfe, called aside his aduersary to hym and sayd on this wise. Fyrste it were a greatte shame, that a lyttel money shuld deseuer vs twayne, whom nature hath knytte so nere to getyer. Secondly the ende of our stryfe is vncertayne, no lesse then of warre. It is in our handes to begynne when we wol, but not to make an ende. All our stryfe is but for an hundred crownes, and we shall spende the double therof vpon notaries, vpon promoters, vpon aduocates, vpon attourneys, vpon iuges, and vpon iuges frendes, if we trie the lawe to the vttermooste. We muste wayte vpon these men, we muste flatter and speke theym faire, we muste gyue them rewardes. And yet I speake not of the care and thought, nor of the great labour and trauayle, that we muste take to runne about here and there to make frendes, and whether of vs boothe that wynnth the victorie, shalbe sure of more incommodite then profite. Wherfore if we wise be, lette vs rather se to our owne profite, and the money that shal be nedfull bestowed vpon these bribers, let vs deuide it betwene vs twayne. And forgyue you the halfe of that ye thynke shuld be your duite, and I wyl forgyue as moch of myne.

And

And so shal we kepe and preserue our frendshyp, whiche els is lyke to perisshe, and we shal also eschewe this great busines, coste, & charge. If you be not content to forgo any thyng of your parte, I commit the whole matter into your owne handes, do with it as you wyll. For I had leauer my frende had this money, then those vnsatiable theues. Me thynke I haue gayned inough, if I maye saue my good name, kepe my frende, and auoyde this vnquiet and chargeable busynesse. Thus partly the tellyng of the trouth, and partlye the merye conceyte of his kynseman, moued the other man to agree. So they ended the matter betwene them selfe, to the great displeasure of the iudges and seriantes, for they like a sort of gappynge rauons, were deluded and put beside theyr praye.

¶ Let a prince therfore folowe the wysedome of these two men, specyally in a mat of moche more daunger. Nor let hym not regarde what thynge it is, that he wolde opteine, but what great losse of good thinges he shal haue, in what gret ieoperdies he shal be, & what miseries he must endure, to come therby. Nowe if a man wol wey, as it were in a paire of balance the cõmodities of way

on the one syde, & the incommodities on the other syde, he shall synde that vninste peace is farre better then righteous warre. Why had we rather haue warre then peace? Who but a madde man wolde angle with a golden fysshe hoke? If ye se that the charges and expences shall amount farre aboue your gayne, ye thoughe all thynges go accordynge to your mynde, is it not better that ye forgo parte of your ryghte, than to bie so lyttel commodite with so innumerable mischieues? I had leuer that any other man had the tytle, then I wolde wynne it with soo gret effusiō of Christē mens blode. He (what so euer he be) hath nowe ben many yeres in possessiō. He is accustomed to rule, his subiectes know him, he behaueth him like a prince, & one shal come forth, which synding an olde tytle in some historyes, or in some blynde euidence wolde turne clene vp sette downe the quiete state and good order of that commen wele. What auaileth it with so gret ruffeling to change any tytle, which in short space by one chance or other must go to another man? Specially sith we mowe se, that there is nothing in this worlde, that doth cōtinue styl in one state, but at the scorneful plesure of fortune they rol to & fro, as the waues of ỳ see.

Finally

Finally if Christen men can not despise and sette at naughte these so lighte thynges, yet wherto nedeth it by and by to runne to harneis? Sith there be so many bisshops, men of great grauite and lernynge: sith there be so many venerable abbottes: sith there be so many noble men of great ancientie, whom longe vse and experience of thynges hathe made righte wise. Why are not these trifelynge & childisshe quarels of princis pacified and set in order by the wisedome and discretion of these men? But they seme to make a very honest reason of warre, whiche pretend as they wolde defende the Churche. As though the people were not the churche, or as though the church of Christ was begun, augmented, and stablisshed with warres and slaughters, and not rather in suffrynge of the bloude of martirs, sufferance, and despisynge of this lyfe, or as though the holle dignite of the churche rested in tye riches of the pristis. Nor to me truely it semeth not so alowable, that we shuld so ofte make warre vpon the Turkes. Doubtles it were not well with christen religion, if the onely safegarde therof shulde depende on suche succours. Nor it is not likely, that they shulde be good christians, that by these meanes are

brought therto at the fyrste. For that thyng that is gotte by warre, is agayne an other tyme loste by warre. Wolle ye bringe the Turkes to the fayth of Christe? Let vs not make a shewe of our gay riches, nor of our great nombre of soudiours, nor of our great strengthe. Let them se in vs none of these solempne titles, but the assured tokens of christen men, a pure innocent lyfe, a feruent desire to do well, yea to our very ennemes, the despisynge of money, the neglectynge of glorie, a poore simple lyfe. Let them here the heuenly doctrine agreable to suche a maner lyfe. These are the best armours to subdue the Turkes to Christe. Nowe often tymes we beinge ill, fight with the yuel. Ye and I shall sey an other thynge (whiche I wolde to god were more boldly spoken then truely) if we sette a syde the title and signe of the Crosse, we fighte Turkes ageynste Turkes. If our religion were fyrst stablisshed by the might and strengthe of men of warre, if hit were confyrmed by dente of swoorde, if it were augmented by warre, then let vs maynteyne it by the same meanes and wayes. But if all thynges in our feyth were brought to passe by other meanes. Why do, we the (as we mistrusted the helpe of Christ) seke

seke suche succoure as the hethen peopke vse. But why shulde we not (say they) kyll them that wolde kyll vs? So thynke they it a great dishonour, if other shoulde be more michtuous then they. Why do ye not then robbe those, that haue robbed you before? Why do ye not skolde and chide at them that rayle at you? Why do ye not hate them that hate you? Trow ye it is a good christen mās dede to slee a Turke? For be the Turkes neuer so wicked, yet are they men, for whose saluation Christe suffred death. And kyllynge Turkes we offre to the dyuell moste pleasant sacrifice, and with that one dede we please our ennemy the dyuell twyse, fyrste bycause a man is slayne, and agayne, bycause a christen man slewe hym. There be manye, whiche desyrynge to seme good christen menne, studye to hurte and greue the Turkes al that euer they may: & where they be not able to do nothynge, they curse and ban, and byd amischife vpon them. Now by the same one poynte a man may perceyue, that they be farre from good christen men. Succour the Tourkes, and where they be wycked, make them good if ye can, if ye can not, wysshe and desyre of god they may haue grace to turne to goodnes. And he that

thus dothe, I woll say dothe lyke a christen man. But of all these thynges I shall intreate more largely, when I sette forthe my boke intytled Antipolemus, whiche whilom when I was at Rome I wrote to July byshoppe of Rome, the seconde of that name, at the same tyme, when he was counsailed to make warre on the Venetians.

¶ But there is one thynge, whiche is more to be lamented then reasoned: That if a man wolde diligently discusse the matter, he shal fynde, that all the warres amonge vs christen men do sprynge eyther of folishenes, or els of malyce. Some yonge men without experience, inflamed with the yuell examples of their fore fathers, that they finde by redynge of histories, writen of some folyshe auctours, & beside this being moued with the exhortations of flaterers, with the instigatiō of lawiers, and assentynge therto of the diuynes, the byshoppes wynkynge therat, or perauenture intycynge thervnto: haue rather of foolehardynes thenne of malice, goone in hande with warre: And with the great hurte & damage of al this world they lerne, that warre is a thynge, that shoulde be by all meanes and wayes fled and eschewed. Some other are moued by priuy hatred

fred, Ambition causeth some, and some are stirred by fyrcenes of minde to make warre. For truly there is almoste nowe none other thynge in our cities and common weales, then is conteyned in Homers warke Ilias, The wrathe of vndiscrete princis & people. ¶There be whiche for none other cause moue warre, but to thentent they may by that meane the more easily exercise tyrannye on theyr subiectis. For in the tyme of peace, the auctorite of the counsaile, the dignite of the rulers, the vigor and strengthe of the lawes, do somwhat let, that a prince can not do all that hym listeth: But as soone as warre is ones begunne, now all the handlynge of matters resteth in the pleasure of a fewe persons. They that the prince fanoureth are lifted vp alofte: and they that be in his displeasure, go downe. They exacte as moche money as pleaseth them. What nede many wordes? Then they thynke theym selfe, that they be the greateste pryncis of the worlde. In the meane season the cappytaynes they sporte and playe to gether, tyl they haue gnawen the poore people to the harde boonis. And thynke ye that bit wyll greue them, that be of this mynde, to entre lyghtly in to warre, whan any cause is of-

fered? Beſydes all this, it is a worlde to ſe by what meanes we colour our faute. I pretende the defence of our religion, but my mynde is to gette the great riches that the Turke hath. Vnder colour to defende the churches ryght, I purpoſe to reuenge the hatred that I haue in my ſtomacke. I inclyne to ambition, I folowe my wrathe, my cruell fierce and vnbridled mynde compelleth me, and yet wolle I fynde a cauillation and ſay, the leage is not kept, or frendſhyppe is broken, or ſome thynge (I wotte not what my ſelfe) concernynge the lawes of matrimony is omitted. And it is a wonder to ſpeake, howe they neuer opteyne the ſelfe thynge, that they ſo greatly deſyre. And whiles they foliſhely labour to eſchue this miſchiefe, or that, they fall in to an other moch worſe, or elſe into the ſame. And ſurely if deſire of glory cauſeth them thus to do, it is a thynge moche more magnificent and glorious to ſaue then to deſtroy: moch more gay and goodly to builde a cite, than to ouerthrowe and deſtroye a citie.

¶ Farthermore admitte that the Victorie in batayle is gotte moſt proſperouſly, yet howe ſmall a portion of the glorie ſhall go vnto the prince? The commons wolle clayme a

greate

great part of hit, by the helpe of whose money the dede was done, outlandishe souldiours, that are hired for money, woll challenge moche more then the commons: The capitaynes loke to haue very moche of that glorie, and fortune most of all, whiche strikynge a great stroke in euery matter, in warre may do most of all. If it come of a noble courage and stoute stomake, that you be moued to make warre: se I pray you, how farre wyde be ye from your purpose? For whyles ye woll not be seen to bowe to one man, as to a prince your neyghbour, & perauēture of your aliāce, & which may fortune hath done you good: howe moche more abiectly muste ye bowe your selfe, what tyme ye seke aide and helpe of barbarous people, ye and that is more vnworthye, of suche men as are defiled with all mischiuous dedes, if we must nedes call suche kynde of monsters men? Whiles ye go about to allure vnto you with fayre wordes and promisses, rauyshers of virgines and of relygious women, menkyllers, stout robbers and rouers (for these be the speciall men of warre). And whyles you labour to be some what cruell and superiour ouer your equall, you are constrayned to submitte your selfe to

the very dregges of all men lyuynge. And whiles ye go aboute to dryue your neyghbour oute of his lande, ye muste nedes fyrste brynge into your owne lande the moste pestilente puddell of vnthryftes that can be. You mistruste a prynce of your owne aliance, and wyll you committe your selfe holly to an armed multitude? Howe moche surer were it to committe your selfe to concorde?

¶ If ye woll make warr bycause of lucre, take your countours and caste: And I wolle saye, it is better to haue warre than peace, if ye finde not, that not alonely lesse, but also vncertayne wynnynge is gotte with inestymable costis.

¶ Ye say ye make warre for the safe garde of the common weale, ye but no way sooner nor more vnthryftyly may the comon weale perysshe, then by warre. For before ye enter into the feld, ye haue alredy hurt more your countrey, then ye can do good gettynge the victorie. Ye haue wasted the citisens goodes, ye fyll the houses with lamentation, ye fyl all the contray with theues, robbers, and raunysshers. For these are the relikes of warre. And wher as before ye might haue enioyed all France, ye shyst our selfe besydes many regions therof. If ye lone your owne subiectes

iectes truely, why reuolue you nat in mind these wordes. Why shall I put so many, in theyr lusty florysshing youth, in all mischefes & perils? Why shal I departe so many honest wyues & theyr husbandes, and make so many fatherles childre? Why shal I claime a title I knowe not, & a doubtful right, with spilling of my subiectes blode? We haue seen in our time, that in war made vnder colour of defence of the church, the prestes haue ben so often pylled with demes, that none ennemye myght do more. So that whyle we go about folisshely to eschewe falling in the diche, we willyngly leape hedlonge into the diche, while we can not suffre a light iniurye, we afflicte our selfe with moste greuous despites. While we be ashamed of gentilnes to bowe to a prynce, we be fayne to please peple most base. Whyles we vndiscretely coueite libertie, we intangle our selfe in moste greuous bondage. Whyles we hount after a litel lucre, we greue our selfe and ours with inestimable harmes. It had ben a point of a prudent christen man (if he be a true christen man) by all maner meanes to haue fled, to haue shoned, and by prayer to haue withstanden so sendly a thynge, and so farre boothe from the lyfe and doctryne of Christe.

Wut

But if it can by no meane be eschewed, by reason of the vngrationalnes of many men, when ye haue assayed euery way, and that ye haue for peace sake, lefte nothynge vnsoughte vp, than the nexte way is, that ye do your diligence: that so yll a thynge may be gessed and done by them that be ylle, and that it be atchened with as lyttell effusion of mans bloudde as can be.

Now if we endeuour vs to be the self same thynge, that we here our selfe called, that is, good christen men, we shall lyttell esteme any worldly thynge, nor yet ambiciously couet any thynge of this worlde. For if we set all our mynde, that we may lyghtly and purely parte hence, if we inclyne holy to heuenly thynges, if we pytche all our felicite in Christe alone, if we beleue all that is truely good, truely gaye and glorious, truelye ioyfull, to remayne in Christe alone, if we thoroughly thynke that a godlye man can of no manne be hurte, if we ponder howe vayne and vanisshynge are the scornefull thynges of this worlde, if we inwardely beholde, howe harde a thynge hit is for a man to be in a maner transformed into god, and so here with continuall and vnfatigable meditation to be purged from

all

all infections of this worlde, that within a while the huske of this body beinge caste of, it may passe hence to the company of angels, finallye if we surelye haue these three thynges, with out whiche none is worthy of the name of a christen man, Innocency, that we maye be pure frome all vicis, Charitie, that we may do good as nere as we can, to euery man, Pacience, that we maye suffre them that do vs yl, and if we can with good dedes ouercome wronges to vs done: I pray you, what warre can there be amonge vs for triffils? If it be but a tale that is tolde of Christe, why doo we not openlye put hym out of our company? Why shoulde we glory in his title? But if he be, as he is in verye dede, the trewe waye, the verye Trouthe, and the very lyfe, why dothe all the maner of our lyuynge differre so farre a sonder, from the trewe example of hym? If we aknowlege and take Christe for our auctour, whiche is very Charite, and nother taught nor gaue other thynge but charytye and peace, then go to, let vs not in titles and signes, but in our dedes and liuynge playnely expresse hym. Let vs haue in our hartes a feruent desire of peace, that Christe may agayne knowe vs for his. To this intente

the

the princis, the prelates, and the cites and cominalties shulde applie theyr counsailes. There hath ben hither to inoughe spylte of christen mans blode. We haue shewed pleasure inough to the ennemes of christen religion. And if the common people, as they are wont, make any ruffelynge, let the princis bridle and quaple them, whiche princis ought to be the selfe same thynge in the common weale, that the eie is in the body, and the reason in the soule. Agayne if the princis make any trouble, it is the part of good prelatis by theyr wysedome and grauite to pacifie and swage suche motions. Dyeks at the least we being satiat with continual warres, let the desire of peace a litrell moue vs. The very misery and wretchednes of warre draweth vs to peace, Christe inviteth vs, The bisshop exhorteth vs, if euer any bisshop dyd, Leo the tenthe dothe, whiche occupieth the rowme of our peaceble Salomon. For all his desire, all his intent and labour, is for this intent, that they whom one commune feyth hath coupled to gether, shulde be ioyned in one commune concorde. He labourethe that the churche of Christe shulde florysshe, not in riches or worldshyps, but in her owne propre vertues. Surely this is a right

goodly

goodly acte, and well besemynge a man descended of suche a noble linage as Medices: by whose ciuile prudence the noble cite of Florence mooste freshely florished in longe continuall peace: the whose house of Medices hath ben a helpe vnto all good letters. Leo hym selfe hauynge alwey a sobre and a gentyll witte, gyuynge hym selfe from his tendre youthe to good lettres of humanite, was euer brought vp as it were in the lappe of the Muses amonge men must highly lerned, he so faultles led his life, that euen in the citie of Rome, where is most liberte of vice, was of hym none yuell rumour, and so gouernynge hym selfe came to the dignytie to be bysshop there, whiche dignite he neuer coueted, but was chosen therto when he lest thought theron, by the pronision of god to helpe to redresse thynges in greate decay by longe warres. Let July the bysshoppe haue his glorye of warre, victories, and of his great trymphes. The whiche howe yuell they beseme a christen bysshoppe, it is not for such one as I am to declare. I wol this say, his glorie, what so euer it be, was mixt with the gret distruction & greuous sorowe of many a creature. But by peace restored nowe to the worlde, Leo shall geatte more true glory, then July wonne by so many warres

that

Bellum
that he eyther, boldely begynne, or prosperously fought and atcheued.

¶ But they that had leauer here of proverbes, thenne eyther of peace or of warre, wolde thynke that I haue taried longer about this digression: then is mete for the declaracion of a Prouerbe.

FINIS.

Thomas Berthelet regius impressor excudebat.
An. 1534.
CVM PRIVILEGIO.

BRITISH MUSEUM 11 OC86

VIRTVS & PIETAS HOMINI TVISSIMA